

539 the baskets got rotten and Faingaa and Sisi fell through to the ground, only to find that they had been grossly deceived.

Some time after they managed to get hold of Pasikole again and made him do their bidding. One day they decided to paddle in a canoe to Samoa. They ordered Pasikole to make the boat ready. He did so, but took the opportunity of hiding some garlands of flowers and sweet-smelling leaves in the stern of the canoe where he thought he would sit to paddle. They started, Faingaa in the bow, Sisi in the center, and Pasikole in the stern of the canoe.

After they had paddled for a long while, Pasikole bedecked himself with the garlands unbeknown to his two enslavers who had their backs to him. Suddenly he remarked that he saw some fish and at the same instant he dived, ostensibly for the object of capturing some. When he rose to the surface, he kept out of sight of the other two by hiding under the stern of the canoe, where he remained for a long while. Then he dived again and came up between Faingaa and Sisi. They expressed astonishment at his being down so long and returning adorned with garlands. Pasikole explained: "I have been down at the bottom of the sea. There were many people there holding a great feast and entertainment. They were so pleased to see me that they decked me with garlands. I should not have returned so quickly, but that I thought you would like to go, too."

The other two immediately expressed an ardent desire to see the entertainment that Pasikole had been to. Then continuing, Pasikole said: "Well, if you go, I must attire you properly, so that you will be presentable to the people at the bottom of the sea." To this they consented and Pasikole set to work and bedecked them with his garlands, but in such a manner that their hands and feet were tied. When he had completed the job to his satisfaction, he told them to stand so that they might all dive together. They did so, but Faingaa and Sisi, being bound, were unable to swim, whilst Pasikole climbed back into the canoe and returned to Tonga a free man.

[823] Sometimes on a dark night large shining patches are to be seen, seemingly at some depth, beneath the sea. These are said to be caused by Faingaa and Sisi struggling in the water trying to get to the surface. To [861] this day Tongan mothers endeavor to quiet their fretful infants by saying, "Naa, naa, I will tell Faingaa and Sisi to come to you."

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swimming-beaches lie within easy walking-distance. Yet young boys rarely learn to swim before the age of six or seven, and girls often much later. Younger children are often severely whipped for venturing to stroll unattended toward the nearest village beach. Yet the beach itself provides safe swimming at all tides. Elsewhere in Polynesia, by contrast, children of three are already fair swimmers and none, parents or children, seem to have that fear of the water which is characteristic of the Pangai villager.

This decay in the art of fishing can be paralleled in other aspects of village economic life. In bark-cloth-making for example, there is apparent a sort of technique atrophy which may be the prelude to slow death. Mariner describes a technique for making bark cloth at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the prepared cloth was baked in an earth oven and then spread out all night to be dampened by the dew before it was sun-dried on the next morning and packed away in bales. None of the villagers had heard of the use of this oven-baking or dew-dampening process even though Mariner says that it increases the durability and strength of the bark cloth. The lack of just these two qualities in their bark cloth worries the Tongans today, when they compare bark cloth with cotton piece-goods. They have evidently forgotten, therefore, two skills that might be used to improve the quality of the bark cloth for which they still have major use.

A somewhat similar atrophy is noticeable in the arts of cooking. Here the introduction of the kerosene-tin or the iron cooking-pot has meant the ever-increasing use of the simple technique of boiling and a progressive lack of interest in oven-baking. By comparison with oven-food, even the villager admits that boiled food is tastelessly sodden and lacks variety of flavour. We read out to Biukala some of the recipes that Mariner gave for preparing Tongan foods. Most of the recipes he had heard of by name, many he could cook himself. But he had to admit that few of the villagers had either the knowledge or the patience to prepare Tongan food according to these older methods. Whatever variety there is introduced into the food eaten today often comes from the addition of large amounts of cane sugar to mixtures of flour and water, or else from the use of tinned beef and

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mother. The exchange of presents is greatest for a first-born son, greater for a first-born girl than for subsequent girls, greater for a first boy than for subsequent boys or girls.

GROWING UP

121 No systematic study was made of the life of children. The following note on one aspect only of this life is to be understood as only a statement of what appears to the observer of village life as obvious and frequent.

857 Children play frequently in groups which number up to ten or more members. There is little age stratification because most older children, older girls particularly, have [561] the responsibility of being nursemaids for younger children and infants. Thus it is natural that the younger children should be members of a gang-group that is led by older children. The typical group, therefore, includes children between the ages of sixteen months and seven years. These gangs spend much of their time exploring and playing in the bush or on the beach. A good deal of aggressive [865] behaviour is displayed within the group. Shouts and laughter of one moment give place to tears in the next as an older child picks up a coconut-switch and unmercifully beats one of the younger children for some disobedience.

854 As long as the infants are babes in arms they are petted, pampered, and played with. From the age of eighteen months or so onwards, the children are thrown on their own resources. This means that they are free to go where they will or where they can. The mothers expect assistance and obedience if the children are playing round the house when some simple task comes to hand. The child who disobeys or 855 who is thought lazy in carrying out a command is generally severely beaten by the mother. The beatings, which appear to be village-practice in enforcing discipline, are almost all carried out by adult women or by older children. The men of the household are generally away from the village all day, working in their gardens. We never saw a man direct more than the mildest of verbal reproofs toward his child. The whippings and beatings are women's work. In one instance only did we hear of a man beating a youngster. This was the case of Bovai who became enraged over the alleged laziness of his adopted son, aged fifteen years. The 856

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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boy was whipped so severely that he ran away from Bovai's household and sought refuge in the house of a relative.

Within the children's groups themselves, there appears to be a well-defined beating-order based on seniority, independent of sex and almost independent of measures of physical strength. A younger child takes the whippings of those older and in turn passes them on to those younger still. This principle of seniority runs also through child-labour. The rule seems to be: never do any task demanded by an elder unless it is impossible to find someone younger whom you can force to do the job instead. Thus, if our houseboy, aged ten, was about, our two husky housegirls, aged seventeen, spent much of their time and energy finding tasks for him to carry out. They would rant and complain and occasionally beat the boy until the job was done to their satisfaction. If on the other hand, the girls were absent and the houseboy with a friend was about, then it was the houseboy's turn to recline upon a kerosene tin and order his young friend to light the fire or to fetch water. The friend did as he was directed, on pain apparently of losing the immediate favour of the older boy. We had, on numerous occasions, opportunity to suggest to all concerned that a job to be done could often be done easier and quicker by the older youth rather than by an ordered-about younger person. The suggestion was obviously incomprehensible to our helpers. They would stop to agree with us. But immediately after the commands and orders would be resumed. The principle of seniority is generally well-defined in Tongan society at large. It is to be expected therefore, that it should in some measure be made the basis for the organization of interpersonal relations in the society of children and youths.

Children of all ages from infancy onward wear clothes. The minimum clothing for a young boy is pants with or without a shirt. Older boys generally wear a shirt or vest together with pants or *vala*, the latter always being worn for church or festive occasions. Girls always wear dresses. In swimming, boys would go naked whereas girls invariably swam in their clothes.

PUBERTY

There is no ceremony connected with a girl's first menstruation. She tells her mother who in turn explains

276 The root is laid on a
431 mat before the visitor with the stalk pointing towards the
574 receiver. Should he wish to keep it for later use, he takes the
[576] root. Should he wish the root to be used immediately, the
276 visitor reverses the root with the stalk pointing towards the
kava-bowl. It is then taken up by one of the young men
present and broken into small pieces with an axe or stone.
The ordinary household considers ten large roots an ample
supply for a year. An addict will consider thirty to forty
large roots the bare minimum for a year.

276 A boy will start drinking *kava* in public and begin to
574 attend *kava*-parties between the ages of seventeen and
883 twenty. Parents become angry if a younger boy tries to
[861] drink in public or in secret. They will scold and whip him
because they think he is wasting his time and energies. Both
boys and girls sometimes chew pieces of *kava* on the sly.
If discovered, they are whipped by their parents. The
children sometimes do not distinguish between dry and green
276 *kava*. Improperly-dried *kava* (green *kava*) is much more
powerful in its effects than dried *kava* and is likely to produce
headaches and a feeling of vague malaise. Most girls do not
begin to drink *kava* before marriage. Thereafter the
majority show no great liking for the drink.

276 A *kava*-drinking party may be started by any man. He
574 goes to the house of his choice and asks for one of the women
or girls to make *kava*. Soon he will be joined by other men.
Or else two or three men go in a group together. It is usual
for a man to go to a different house on successive nights.
The householder may provide his own piece of *kava* to start
off the drinking. Generally he does not, leaving this to his
guests. The householder is reckoned to be providing
numerous other services: the house, the bowl, the maker,
the lamp, and the kerosene. The first time a man comes to a
house to visit, it is bad form for him not to bring a gift of
276 *kava*. A frequent visitor to a house will bring an occasional
574 gift. A visitor from another village uses his own discretion
576 as to whether he brings *kava* with him. If the visitor brings
431 a gift of *kava*-root and the householder provides none, then
the householder receives the first cup of *kava*. If on the
other hand, the householder also provides *kava*-root, then
both pieces are used for the first bowl and the visitor is the
one to drink first.

592 of a nuclear family and this is the preferred form of household composi-
 (594) tion. Also pointed out earlier was the fact that the Tongan household
 is the basic unit of production and consumption. It is the physical and
 (861) social environment within which Tongans learn behavior and establish
 592 patterns of behavior. The pattern of exchange indicates that the rela-
 593 tionships established within the household and the family of orientation
 431 are maintained after the members of the household have dispersed and es-
 437 tablished new households.

594 The emphasis on the nuclear family reflected by the patterns of
 178 exchange may be a relatively recent alteration in Tongan life style, an
 431 alteration that has resulted in a "lag" between the conscious model and
 437 the new situation. For instance, the population of Puke as presently
 602 constituted has resulted from recent migrations that tend to break up
 (166) kin groupings larger than nuclear families. For the individual resident
 of Puke this results in a limited range of kinsmen available with whom
 to carry on reciprocity. This means, of course, that the physical dis-
 tribution of kinsmen may preclude operation of the conscious model for
 certain individuals.

597 Comparing the adoption sample to the sample of goods, exchange also
 858 produces information on the overriding solidarity of the nuclear family.
 431 Children, of course, cannot be compared to goods in terms of value, but
 437 they are resources that can be weighed according to their relative social
 (594) importance. Children are by far much more important than goods, and this
 is reflected in different patterns of exchange.¹

597 In the village of Vaini where the adoption sample was obtained.
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1. [For footnote, see p. 123--Analyst]

ANTHROPOLOGY

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to find in the end that a representative of this method, a mother's brother, claims the child and perhaps kills it by accident. The whole of this dream provides a good example of the way in which specific anxieties arising from specific aspects of a more generalized clash of cultural standards obtain a certain justification, sometimes a resolution, in dream symbolism. 159 177

Two further dreams suggest interesting anxiety symbols, though I was unable to get the dreamer to recall data of his childhood years in sufficient number to advance a definite interpretation. 159 [154]

Case 6.—Dream of Potemani, married man of about 36 years. He dreamed he was in Nukualofa with his mother, whom he was shortly to leave on his return to Pangai. He and his mother were walking down a bush path when he suddenly saw a huge tree about to fall on top of them. He was terror-stricken, but his mother told him not to fear. With a small stick she propped up the large tree and they walked safely past. Three times this happened. The dreamer awoke in fear, and the dream has returned since with all the terror of a nightmare.

Later Potemani had another type of terror dream. He saw indistinctly in his dream an elderly man who was threatening to strike a group of small children with a large bush knife. Presently the dreamer heard the old man strike one of the boys. He distinctly heard the crack of a leg bone as the knife sheared through the leg; he struggled to see what was happening, but he could not. He awoke frightened by the dream.

A not too fanciful analysis of these two dreams might, I think, discern in them certain symbols for a father imago. The first dream particularly seems transparent if we interpret it in Freudian symbols. In this connection, too, it may be noted that dreams in which a father appears do not seem uncommon among our informants. Thus Avai (see Case 1 above) said that while he was in college in Nukualofa he had occasional dreams in which he saw his father as a corpse lying dead. He awoke from these dreams crying and frightened. Another informant, Sione, also reported a long and involved dream in which he found himself at his grandfather's funeral feast eating the flesh of a large, fat, delicious horse. Potemani's second dream is also not one that stands alone. Children's nightmare dreams seem largely to include either being chased by large animals (a horse or a bull) or else by a man often armed with a large bush knife. Dr. J. C. Lopdell, Assistant Medical Officer for Vava'u, also informed me of the case of a boy of 8 years brought to him for the treatment of a persistent night terror which consisted in terror dreams of being chased by a man with a bush knife. This boy, incidentally, was being severely disciplined by an irascible father. Marked improvement occurred only when Dr. Lopdell succeeded in modifying this discipline by persuading the father to treat the boy in a more gentle and kindly fashion. I suspect, therefore, that psychic stress conditioned by the necessities of adjusting to the rather strict morality of the average Tongan home may well result in the type of dream reported by Potemani. 154 159 [86]

Another type of dream in which symbolism of a different emotional value suggests a Freudian interpretation is the following: 159

Case 7.—A dream of Sione, an unmarried man of about 20. The dreamer found himself in a working party with his eight brothers, hoeing rows of yams. The missionary (Free Church of Tonga), Pili, comes up to the workers, praising some, criticizing others. He tells all the workers to go to the village. Suddenly Sione finds himself inside a house where a feast of food is laid on the floor. He goes outside and sees the missionary's wife coming toward him with a large saucepan full to the brim with money. Pili tells the dreamer to

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181 Despite the dark side which Tongan marriage has for the strict Western observer, the family life of these natives may be regarded as happy, particularly since basic ideas are freer and the Tongans with their mentality take things easier than they appear to whites.

592 As in old times, (198)

462 198. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 300.

the husband bears the chief burden of work (planting, fishing, house and boat building), while the wife cares for the house and the children, plait mats and makes tapa. (199)

199. More details at "Division of Labor,"
p. 336 ff.

593 As ever, the wife enjoys special respect. In most houses a quiet, harmonious atmosphere predominates, both between the spouses as well as between parents and children. Often one sees fathers holding their children lovingly on their laps, and mothers take conscientious, often tender care of their children for granted. This family life (178) corresponds very much to that in old Tonga, according to the description given by Mariner. (200)

200. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 179.

593 Many parents do not beat their children, but are content with

861 admonishing words. Some, however, give severe punishment with the Tonga broom (tau fale) /used/ as a switch (or with a stick, leather strap, etc.). /69/ Child obedience is moderate to good. In general, (867) however, children are handy, and when still of young age they perform tasks helping their parents and growing into the parents' roles.

593 An ancient taboo forbade children to touch their father's head, 784 to partake of his food and drink and to use articles belonging to him. (178) This taboo is today largely relaxed, for children will, for example, often eat food remnants of their father or drink up what is left in his coconut cup. Many use their father's comb, and some even touch

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[517] the Archipelago European games replaced the ancient Tonga ones, some of which were by that time already forgotten or seemed uninteresting. Probably people play less today in Tonga than they did in the past, for the church takes up much of the Tongans' time, and the energy required by their work (on plantations and at copra production) is now greater than it was in past centuries. Nonetheless, the idea of play, though in new forms, has been preserved on the Islands.

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6. THEIR KNOWLEDGE

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[871] In ancient Tonga the natives learned everything they needed to know for living through oral tradition, unsystematic guidance and their own experience. To judge from ancient sources, there were no "schools" of any kind (not even for priests and seafarers). The young natives of both sexes and all ranks grew into their life tasks and in this way acquired all the knowledge they needed to regulate their affairs.

Today too most Tongan men and women do not obtain the knowledge they need for their everyday life systematically; they simply imitate their elders; they learn chiefly by "seeing and taking part." Tonga--as in the past--is an island country with a predominantly farming population. Only a few trades are more widespread and, in contrast to the past, only a small group of natives out of the total number of inhabitants are engaged in newly created professions. (744)

744. See pp. 358-361.

From the standpoint of present economic life, an increase and change in their knowledge as seen from the European point of view is scarcely necessary, since in the villages children as a matter of course grow into the activities of their parents (who are "masters of their world"), and on the small islands there are few opportunities of applying the school-acquired knowledge of the whites.

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797 Nevertheless, schools were established in the Archipelago as early